NEW SHAKESPEAREANA.

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WAS KRONBORG AT ELSINORE THE HOME AND FORTRESS OF HAMLET THE DANE?

It is rather an interesting suggestion to those to whom Shakespeare's pages are of current and constant interest, and who connect Shakespeare and his world with the world they live and breathe and move in to-day—that Kronborg Castle which is the scene of Shakespeare's master tragedy was built to achieve the same purpose for which—as we write these lines—the lively Japanese soldiers and sailors are fighting in the far East: viz., to keep if possible the power of the Russian Empire from the High seas.

The erection of Kronborg Castle at the entrance to the Kattegat, was begun in the year 1552. In 1552, Ivan, Grand Duke of Moscow, afterward known as Ivan the Terrible, had succeeded in amalgamating the various states about him to form the Empire of Russia, and having become first Czar, he turned his attention to seeking an outlet to the ocean, then controlled by his neighbors, especially by the Swedes and Danes. As we have seen, Kronborg Castle was built about the time of his predatory expeditions, and undoubtedly as a measure of defense against him: and so successful was the defense that it was not until the reign of Peter the Great, a century and a half later, that Russia obtained control of the Baltic or access through the Kattegat to the Atlantic. Intercourse between England and Russia was opened in 1553, when Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor undertook with a fleet to explore the North East passage, through the Arctic Ocean, to China. The expedition suffered great hardships. Two ships were lost and Sir Hugh and many of the men frozen to death. The survivors under Chancellor put into Archangel. Chancellor was cordially received by the Czar and the result was that a commercial treaty was established between the two countries. In 1567, Anthony Jenkinson was commissioned by Ivan to convey a special message to Queen Elizabeth. "That the Queen's majesty and he might be to all their enemies joined as one; and that England and Russia might be in all manners as one."

Ivan, for his part, desired the assistance of England in his controversies

with the Swedes, Danes, and Poles; while England on her part wanted monopoly of trade. In one of his raids into the Baltic territory, Ivan wrote to Queen Elizabeth asking if he might find a safe retreat in England in case he should be driven out by his own subjects. It is even said that he once proposed for the hand of Elizabeth although he had already had eight wives, two of them living at the time. The union being declined, he sent an embassy to the English court to select a consort for him among the Ladies of Elizabeth's Court. The choice fell upon Lady Mary Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntington and a relative of the Queen, but the accounts that had reached Lady Mary's ears of the terrible Czar evidently did not prepossess her in his favor, and she also declined the honor. The conduct of the members of this embassy appears for some reason to have greatly impressed the English Court, and Lady Mary Hastings was thenceforth dubbed "The Empress of Muscovy." Apparently this is the incident burlesqued in "Love's Labour's Lost" as the Masque of Russians, and it must be conceded at all events as remarkable that allusions to a comparatively very recent Empire such as Russia then was, are found so frequently in Plays written for purely local London consumption; the "rugged Russian bear," the Duke who "some said was with the Emperor of Russia, some in Rome," the talk that would "outlast a Russian winter," Hermione, daughter of the Emperor of Russia and wife to a Sicilian King who consulted the Delphic oracles, and "the curs that run winking into the mouth of a Russian bear." Such accensions as these would have evidently been unintelligable to a London audience had it not been for some recent experiences.

On page 16 of Volume 1 of NEW SHAKESPEAREANA, are noted that, according to an ancient document, a pay roll—a company of English actors was domiciled from June 17th to September 18th, 1586, at Elsinore, in Zeeland, Denmark, for the purpose of playing before the Danish King, Frederick the Second—and that, among these players was the well known William Kempe—and several others, known to have been the professional fellows of William Shakespeare. Now, the earliest printed copies of "Hamlet" do not give the place where its narrative was to be supposed to occur. Prince Hamlet himself, however, four times in the course of the play, mentions Elsinore—the present city of Helsignor—as its scene, and it is to Elsinore that he welcomes Horatio and the Players. At Elsinore, guarding the entrance to the Kattegat, and so to the Baltic Sea, there still stands to-day, as it has stood for four hundred and fifty years, (though now supposed to be crumbling as to its foundation—a telegram to that effect having reached us from Berlin, February 6th, 1904, subsequent to the date at which the pictures accompanying this article were secured) this Fortress of Kronborg. And there were—and continued to be until as lately as the year 1857—(if our authorities are accurate) certain "sound dues" which the Castle was expected to collect for Denmark—discontinued in the year 1857. The Old Castle therefore has an interesting history apart from its probable associations with the Hamlet fiction. Except that Admiral Blake once sailed his

fleet by it without permission, it seems always to have been adequate to its purpose, viz: the control of exit and entrance to the Baltic Sea, and so to the open ocean. For some half a century now it has been used only as a barracks for Danish soldiers.

It is believed that this Castle of Kromborg was the scene of Shakespeare's play of Hamlet. Why it is so believed it is the purpose of this paper to enquire. But why should Shakespeare, who appears never to have visited Elsinore, (had he been one of the Company aforesaid his name would surely have been second, or more probably first, on the list contained in the ancient payroll,) have selected Kronborg Castle and Elsinore as the Fortress and home, and scene of the piteous story of Hamlet the Dane? Saxo places the scene of his Saga of Amleth in Jutland, and Belleforest, translating it into the Hystoric of Hamblett (Amleth—asperated) says that the Danes "all with one consent proclaimed him (Hamblett) King of Jutie, [i. e., Jutland] and Chersonnesse, at this present the proper country of Denmark."(See Belleforest's Hystoric of Hamblett reprinted in The Bankside Shakespeare, Vol. XI.)

Indeed, the necessities of local color for the Hamlet of Shakespeare seemed to require the removal of Saxo's story to Elsinore. To this local color we are indebted for Prince Hamlet being educated at Wittenberg (which being a Lutheran university was the favorite one for Danish scholars to resort to). Clearly, the prince must be at the Danish Court and there was no Danish Court in Jutland! In a notebook kept by "Maister William Segar, Garter King at Arms who journied to Denmark in that year to aid in investing the Danish King with the order of the Garter, is the entry of July 14, 1603. "This afternoone the King (of Denmark) went aboord the English ship which was lying off Elsinore and had a blanket prepared for him vpon the vpper decks which were hung with an awning of cloathes of Tissue, every healthe reported shot of great Ordinance, so that during the King's abode the ship discharged 160 shot." (Here we have the Danish custom, more honored in the breach etc., of announcing the King's toasts by trumpets or by salvos "the great cannon to the clouds shall tell," etc., and we wonder again, did Shakespeare know everything knowable: did no minutest item escape him ever?) And the presence of the English actors also proves it, as, had it not been the seat of the Danish court, the small city of Elsinore would not have attracted the presence for three months of a company of actors seeking continental employment. Besides, on its borders, Queen Mary, consort of this very King Frederick above mentioned, built a summer palace—still standing, called "Marienlyst"—(Mary's delight). Moreover, the province or balliwick of Zeeland, (which contains Elsinore, Marienlyst and Kronborg,) is named ',Fredericksborg" after the name borne by so many of the Danish Kings. And as for further reason, if further reason is necessary, there exist remarkable correspondences to points required by the descriptive parts of the play of Hamlet, in the exterior and interior of this Castle, as it is the province of our illustrations,

which have been taken for us by Mr. J. M. Welsch, to show: Possibly William Kemp, or some of his fellow actors, whose names we have given as occurring in the old payroll (Vol. 1, page 16) became so epris with the gaunt and frowning battlements of the Castle, that he described it to Shakespeare vividly enough for him to reproduce it in his mise en scene. Perhaps, and perhaps not? Who can tell! There was enough of romance clinging about the old castle to have attracted Mr. William Kemp. One of its legends (told with the anachronistic independence essential to all legendary lore) is that, in its subterranean fastnesses, Holger Danske (the William Tell of Denmark) still sits asleep at a banqueting table, but still firmly grasping his great glaive, ready to spring to the aid, in danger, of his beloved Denmark.

To-day the story of Hamlet is as much a part of its legendary wealth as Holger Danske himself. But whether Shakespeare located the story of his Master tragedy at old Elsinore because of England's diplomatic relations with Ivan the terrible whom Kronborg's walls so successfully resisted; or whether the description of his fellow actors there impressed him, it is noticeable that the same old fortress seems to-day to respond in its exterior and interior features to the points named in the Play. Who will not willingly be convinced that here (A) is the identical platform where Hamlet's father's spirit in arms first appeared to his doomed son? The wind from the Kattegat and from the channel give it always "a nipping and an eager air." Here stood Francisco on guard, and to him opproaching Bernardo—who had already once seen the ghost and, whose nerves running away with him, gave the challenge instead of waiting, as a soldier should, to be himself challenged by the sentry. The next in order (B) is the Hall of State, where Hamlet resents King Claudius calling him his "sometime cousin now our son," and sneers that he is "a little more than kin and less than kind." Just as the English traveller in 1603 described it, there were then plenty of arras for Polonius to conceal himself behind when he sent poor Ophelia to interview Prince Hamlet. Danish kings are expressed in antique habits according to their several times with their arms and inscriptions containing all the conquests and victories."

The next (C) is the "more removed place" indeed a dreadful summit (the "cliff" being in this case, a place on the roof easily reachable from the platform, where the story of the murder, already half guessed by Hamlet, is fully told him by the Ghost. Another view of this spot from below is lettered (D). The picture marked (E) is the Queen's chamber, where Polonius, spying through the arras, met his death-thrust from Hamlet's sword. The pictures F and G are respectively, one of the old casemates, the sally-port, and the parade, still to be seen by the visitor to this "Riviera of the North," as Marienlyst is fondly called in the guide-books issued by the proprietor thereof.

Be all this as it may, this Danish neighborhood is still redolent of Hamlet and of Shakespeare—and just as at Wittenberg we are still shown the

house occupied by Hamlet when he was at school there, so the creations of Shakespeare have been acclimated into Danish Folk-lore, and into the atmosphere of the delightful watering place, still called Marienlyst. In the grounds of Marienlyst has been erected a shaft surrounded with a cairn, which, from a time whereof the memory of man runs not to the contrary, has been known as "Hamlet's Tomb." Nearby is a statute of Prince Hamlet himself by Miss Neilson a famous Danish sculptress. And here also, in a grove, is a small cascade or welled-up spring, which, by grace of an equivalent tradition, is "Ophelia's brook" the identical spot where Queen Gertrude's poor Lady of honor her pendant weeds was clambering to hang when the envious sliver broke, and entitled her to Christian burial—(through the verdict of the first grave digger that she wilfully sought her own salvation has taken precedence in most men's minds of the Crowner's Quest that entitled her to have her grave made "straight," that is, east and west, the head reverently to the east). At any rate it is here Sarah Bernhard and Monet Sully break annual bottles of champagne! And, standing on Marienlyst beach one sees a little stone's throw away, the stony battlements of gray old Kronborg itself!

We gave, as a frontispiece to our issue for October 1903, a picture of a statue of Shakespeare by Louis Hasselriis (a Danish sculptor living in Rome) which it is proposed to place during the present year, 1904, in the Mall opposite the Sally-port of old Kromborg. Since Shakespeare is the creator of Hamlet (for unless one's attention is finely called to it, neither Amleth nor Hamblett seem to be even an adumbration of Shakespeare's melancholy Prince), it is hoped that this can be done in the present year, which is the three hundredth anniversary of the second Quarto of Hamlet —(of which the first is doubtless a scant stenographic report). The subscription to pay for the monument is headed by Queen Alexandra of England with one thousand guelden, and only the sum of one thousand dollars is now lacking to complete the fund. In the hope that this small remainder may come from the United States, the Danish consul-general in New York City has asked the Editor of NEW SHAKESPEAREANA to mention that subscriptions may be forwarded to him, and they cheerfully do so.

Any sums sent to the Editors of NEW SHAKESPEAREANA will be acknowledged with the names of the donors in subsequent issues of this Quarterly. If every American Actor of Shakespearean roles would send us his or her contribution the very small amount now lacking could be secured here in the United States readily during the Hamlet anniversary year, and we sincerely trust that the amount will be, in this graceful and preferable way, forthcoming.

SHAKESPEARE'S ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, AND ITS STAGE HISTORY.

It is somewhat remarkable that, while in the present day the Tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra is universally recognized as one of the greatest of Shakespeare's plays, its contemporary popularity should have been so comparatively slight, and the field of its history so barren.

Under date of May 20th, 1608, two entries were made in the Stationer's Register for Edward Blount. "Entered for his copie under the orders of Sir George Buck Knight and Master Warder Seton a Booke called the booke of Pericles Prince of Tyre," and "Entered also for his copie by the like authoritie A booke called Anthony and Cleopater." In the following year, 1609, Pericles was accordingly published in Quarto with the title "The late and much admired Play called Pericles Prince of Tyre &c.," and this publication was followed by that of three other Quarto Editions before 1623. On the other hand, Antony and Cleopatra so far as we know, was never published in Quarto and never appeared in print until 1623, when it was included among the Tragedies in the First Folio. Edward Blount must for some reason have abandoned his intention of publishing it. Perhaps the immediate and startling success of the one twin, Pericles, tended to obscure the merit of its greater brother. Pericles' success seems to have been regarded as typical, as Robert Tailer (1614) writes

"And if it prove so happy as to please
Weele say 'tis fortunate like Pericles."

"Antony and Cleopatra" seems to have been as markedly unfortunate. We have no record of its original production on the stage, which must have been in 1607 or 1608, shortly before Blount's Entry in the Stationer's Register, and no evidence can be found of it on the stage at all until its production by Garrick on Wednesday, January 23rd, 1759, at Drury Lane. As, in its infancy it was o'er-shadowed by its more fortunate twin, Pericles, in later years its popularity was stolen from it by what may be regarded as in a sense its offspring, Dryden's "All for Love," which held the stage to its exclusion for many years. Two previous tragedies on the same subject had been previously printed in England, Daniel's "Cleopatra" in 1594, and the Countess of Pembroke's "Antony," in 1595. The latter is virtually a translation of Robert Garnier's Marc Antoine, 1578. Daniel's tragedy, like Shakespeare's drew its material principally from Plutarch's Lives, but neither of these plays seem to have any relation to Shakespeare's tragedy beyond their being founded on the same story. So the "Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt" produced by Thomas May, 1626, does not appear to have been influenced by Shakespeare's tragedy at all!

After the Restoration, Sir Charles Sedley composed an "Antony and Cleopatra," which is recorded to have been produced at Dorset Garden in 1677. It is said to have been a dull rhymed-tragedy and met with but moderate success. On the 31st January, 1677-78, however, Dryden's great tragedy was entered at Stationers' Hall and was produced at the Theatre

Royal during 1678. Dryden described it in the title-page as written in imitation of Shakespeare's style, and says in his preface with becoming modesty, "I hope I may affirm and without vanity that by imitating him, I have excell'd myself throughout the play." His opinion of his own tragedy has been accepted by all his critics, who recognize it as beyond doubt Dryden's greatest play. Its success was immediate and continued, the actors of that day made their reputations in it, and it held the stage for nearly one hundred and fifty years. Dryden constructed his tragedy in conformity to the classical rules then so strenuously insisted on; but, writing under Shakespeare's inspiration he was successful in catching and transfusing more than a little of the fire of the original which had so deeply impressed him. Or, perhaps we may say with Swinburne "It would seem a sign or birthmark of only the greatest among poets that they should be sure to rise instantly for awhile above the very highest of their native height at the touch of a thought of Cleopatra." Perhaps, too, the very vastness and gorgeousness of Shakespeare's tragedy made it difficult of approach to actors as well as audiences, and Dryden's beautiful play brought within narrower bounds, and pruned so as to more nearly conform to the so called dramatic unities—came more within the grasp of the minds and powers of players and people. The blaze of noon-day splendor from the marvellous original was too dazzling for its adequate portrayal by any actors, and the paler reflection proved therefore the more acceptable. In our own day, have we not seen that Sardou's glowing and picturesque, but superficial Cleopatra, has been acted oftener in our own country and to greater popular acceptation than Shakespeare's tragedy?

As above mentioned, the first performance of which we have record of Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra was Garrick's production of the Tragedy at Drury Lane in 1757. This performance was of a version abridged and transposed by Capell. Garrick himself of course played Antony, Berry Enobarbus, and Mrs. Yates Cleopatra. Davies tells us that this revival of the play, which as he says "had lain dormant since it was first exhibited" was due to Garrick's passionate desire to give the public as much of Shakespeare as possible. The revival, however, was not a success; and, after a half-dozen repetitions, the play was withdrawn. Garrick is said not to have been an effective Antony; Davies says of him that "his person was not sufficiently important and commanding to represent the part;" hardly a very satisfactory criticism of so great an actor, who was successful in so many and such different characters. Mrs. Yates was very young at the time of the production, and her genius probably undeveloped. Our tragedy then slept for another long age, in fact until 1833, when Macready produced at Covent Garden the present acting version of the Play. Macready was dissatisfied with his own performance of Antony, and Talfourd said of it that it lacked "that spirit of revelry and bounding joyancy, which ought to distinguish the mad-cap reveller of sixty." The same critic added, that "the mild intellectual expression of countenance, meagre figure and lady-

like deportment of Miss Phillips failed adequately to present Cleopatra." It perhaps can hardly be wondered at, that this production also was unsuccessful. Mr. Phelps seems to have fared better with his revival of the Tragedy at Sadler's Wells in 1850, when Miss Glyn played Cleopatra to his own Antony. Miss Glyn possessed as to her own personal appearance and characteristics, the requirements and traits found so sadly lacking in poor Miss Phillips, and her rendition of Cleopatra was regarded as the crowning triumph of her career. Phelps's Antony, however, like Macready's, while studious and earnest, is said to have been deficient in vivacity and spontaneity. On our own stage the only rendering of Antony and Cleopatra which readily recurs to the mind, is the gorgeous reproduction of the Tragedy, by Mrs. James Brown Potter's Company, some years since. Mrs. Potter's own performance while earnest and graceful, failed adequately to realize what we had hoped for in Cleopatra; on the other hand, however, it was I think the general verdict that Kyrle Bellew's rendering of Antony was animated and virile, as well as careful and studious, and was perhaps the best thing he ever did. By the curious irony of fate the same undeserved misfortune that has so constantly attended Antony and Cleopatra seems to have clung to it even in America. As in the eighteenth century "All for Love, or the World Well Lost" reaped the popular admiration which should rightly have belonged to Shakespeare's Tragedy, so, in the nineteenth century, Sardou's meretricious drama, in which Bernhardt however, so marvellously embodied the spirit of Cleopatra, possessed the stage and filled the popular mind; and even when less sublimely but still forcefully rendered by Fanny Davenport, Sardou's Cleopatra was much oftener presented to public applause than Shakespeare's. The immediate and continued success of the preceding play of Julius Cæsar, renders Antony and Cleopatra's relative failure on the stage the more surprising. Certainly Antony's character is immensely developed and far superior in the second tragedy, than in the first; while Julius Cæsar is almost entirely lacking in the feminine interest, which in Cleopatra not only permeates but dominates the tragedy.

It is not within the province of this Quarterly Review to re-capitulate the volume of æsthetic study or analysis either of Shakespeare or of thte characters of the men and women he has created. I therefore forbear as well discussion as citation from critic or poet which would yet more strangely show the striking contrast between the closet admiration and the stage neglect of this great tragedy. As we know, Shakespeare in this Play, as in Julius Cæsar, took not only his incidents but much of his language from North's translation of Plutarch's "Life of Antony," "concealing," as Schlegel says, "under an apparent artlessness of adhering closely to History as he found it, an uncommon degree of art: accepting the literal only where it enters into the poetical; and so moulding the story as to give unity and rounding to a series of events detached from the immeasurable extent of History without changing them." Evidently Shakespeare had re-read and pondered the story told by Plutarch in the interval of time which

divided the production of these tragedies; a striking illustration of which is the fact that to bring the events connected with Cæsar's assassination and its avenging within the limits of a single play, so that Brutus's and Cassius's death at Phillippi might conclude the tragedy; Shakespeare was compelled to omit all reference to Antony's campaign in Northern Italy, and the seemingly hopeless struggle he maintained against the Senatorial party, before the formation of the second triumvirate. It might be supposed for all that is said in "Julius Cæsar," that the flight of the conspirators from Rome after Cæsar's funeral, ended the power of their party in Italy, and that they had gone at once to the East, where we find Brutus and Cassius a little later, and that Shakespeare had ignored the intervening period. When we come, however, to Antony and Cleopatra we see that Shakespeare though he had laid aside this part of Antony's career as lacking relation to the story of Brutus, the true hero of the earlier tragedy; had not failed to study and assimilate this vital portion of Antony's life, and was ready to make the most happy use of it contrasting Antony's valorous capacity of rugged endurance, with his life of luxurious indulgence in Egypt. The picture is the more striking from the description coming from Octavius.

"When thou once
Was beaten from Modena, where thou slew'st
Hirtius and Pansa, consuls, at thy heel
Did famine follow; whom thou fought's against
Though daintily brought up, with patience more
Than savages could suffer . . . . .
. . . . . and all this,
It wounds thine honour that I speak it now
Was borne so like a soldier, that thy cheek
So much as lank't not."

We may further see Shakespeare's careful use of his limited material, (for he seems to have been a careful rather than a profuse reader,) by the fact that he seems to have taken his first idea for the tragedy of Timon from the episodic discussion concerning the life and sorrows of Timon, contained in Plutarch's Life of Antony. That powerful and gloomy tragedy was produced probably a little earlier than Antony and Cleopatra, and somewhat later than Julius Cæsar, so that to Shakespeare's study, of one division of North's Plutarch, we owe three great Shakespearean Tragedies.

R. L. Ashhurst.

DEPARTMENT OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Conducted by EDWARD MERTON DEY, ESQ.

[Contributions to this Department need not be typewritten. Correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Dey, P. O. Box 1063, St. Louis, Mo.]

II. HENRY THE FOURTH VII 68 SEQ.

How might a King of my great hopes forget
The great indignities you laid upon me
What! rate, rebuke and roughly send to prison
The immediate heir of England? * * *
I then did use the person of your father
* * * * * * You are right
Justice and you weigh this well
Therefore still bear the balance, etc.

The Famous Victories of Henry the 5 containing the Honourable Battel of Agin-Court. (Repeated in the Bankside Shakespeare. Vol. XVI. page xv.)

JUDGE. Why, I pray you my lord who am I?

HEN 5. You who knows you not? Why, man, you are Lord Chiefe Justice of England.

JUDGE. Your Grace hath said truth, and therefore in striking me in this place you greatly abuse me and me not only, but also your father whose lively person here in thi splace I do represent. And therefore to teach you what prerogatives meane I commit you to the Fleete until I have spoken with your father.

HEN 5. Why then belike you mean to send me to the Fleete?

JUDGE. I, indede and therefore carry him away. Exeunt Hen. 5 with the officers.

In Mr. Nelson's interesting and valuable article on Shakespearean forgers before Ireland, in the last issue (page 80 supra) I think he is in error in speaking of the incident of Prince Hal striking the Chief Justice, and being committed to prison by him, as Shakespeare's invention. Shakespeare rarely invented incidents, and he pretty certainly took this one from the old play of The Famous Victories of Henry V, which was in a measure the ground work of 2 Henry IV and Henry V. Here we have the incident

at full length on the stage; the prince interceding for one of his followers—called simply "Theefe" who has robb'd a Carrier, and, on the Chief Justice refusing to listen to his request for the release of this Theefe, whom he claims as his follower, striking him, and the committal of the Prince is given above following. In 2 Henry IV the incident is not produced on the stage, but only recounted in the text above quoted. Shakespeare's audiences were doubtless familiar with the incident in the old play, and would welcome a reference to it. It is probable that the story whether true or false, was part of the traditions about the wildness of Prince Henry's early days, which I hope at some future time to talk about in NEW SHAKESPEAREANA.

R. L. ASHHURST.

Hamlet, I. ii. 160-1.

I am glad to see you well;
Horatio,—or do I forget myself.

Thus it stands in the Globe and Cambridge editions. It is such a palpable absurdity that Hamlet should congratulate Horatio on the state of his health before he even knows who he is, that Collier proposed to omit the word "well"—see Furness's Hamlet Vol. I. p. 46. There is no need to omit "well." The fault is with the punctuation. "Well" is an interjection. Suppose we read:—

I am glad to see you. Well
Horatio,—or do I forget myself!

But I am told that the use of "well" as an interjection is an "Americanism." Perhaps it is, but it was not in 1623, when whoever wrote the "Address to the Great Variety of Readers" said, "Well! it is now publique, and you will stand for your priviledges wee know; to read and censure."

A similar use of "well" occurs in this very play, Act I. sc. 1-11. *Ber.* Well, good night; and still another in R. II, III-3-170; Well, well, I see I talk but idly.

ISAAC HULL PLATT.

'Lear,' II. ii. 20.—

One trunk-inheriting slave;

Can it be that this is printer's "pi" for

A drunk (or "drunken") bate-breeding slave;?

A box, chest or trunk, being a chattel (interchangeable words, meaning a coffer in the plays—'Merry Wives,' I. iv. 47; IV. ii. 60—and see Bartlett's Concordance) can't be "inherited"—nor, if the phrase means "as much real estate as the trunk of a tree would cover," then the difficulty occurs that real estate was only possessed by the Feudal Lord, never: then or since: by a "slave."

If it means "trunk-hosen"—i. e.; small-clothes—then why "hundred pound.....three-suited.....worsted-stockings—just above in Kent's speech? An hundred pounds was at least twenty-five hundred pounds sterling in those days, and only rich men had three suits of clothes.

On the other hand, the copy-reader may have read the manuscript "bate-breeding" as "inheriting"—or "drunk" as "trunk"—or the types may have done it. "Bate-breeding" means stirring up strife—"bate-breeding" was Middle English for "busy body"—(Morgan's 'Warwickshire Dialect,' page 15—Fourth ed.) And see the Bankside Shakespeare Vol. XIV. for picture of an Elizabethan font showing the tendency of certain type to fall into the wrong boxes in "distributing"—or "throwing in," as modern printers call it.

In the "Pide-Bull" quarto—which is the one Mr. Adee reprints in the Bankside—the phrase is,

glaffegazing superfinicall rogue one trunke inheriting—&c

while the Folio has

glaffe-gazing superseruicable finical Rogue, one Trunke-inheriting.

Though there were no proof-readers, the forms were often taken out of the presses and corrections made while the printing was going on in the old printing houses, and this passage seems to have been corrected in that way. Indeed, to absolutely know how a Shakespeare play was originally written, one would have to possess every copy of every quarto that was ever struck off. The "copy"—that is, the MS held by the boy who read as the compositor set up, was either thrown away or returned, and as there was no proof-reader to call for it, nobody could tell what the boy got right. The marvel is that we have got as much of Shakespeare as we have! But "glasse-gazing" (without the hyphen) and "trunke" for trunk brings my correction of "drunken" nearer the possibility.

The whole speech of Kent seems un-Shakespearean. Kent elsewhere in the play speaks with dignity and in the courtly phrase of a nobleman. Perhaps he assumed this tone to pretend that he did not recognize Oswald (who, like a well-bred person, protests: "Why, what a monstrous fellow art thou, thus to rail on one that is neither known of thee nor knows thee!") a second time. But such a mass of epithets no other Shakespeare character surely ever uttered. The passage is nonsense anyhow! But, if Kent had suspected Oswald's errand he might well enough have called him an interloper in a quarrel, a stirrer-up of strife—a "bate-breeder."

And will Mr. Dey please explain why previously (I. iv. 95) Kent has called this same Oswald a "base foot-ball player"? and why, having met before, they should pretend to be strangers? Why don't we have these cruces explained by the commentators? Why do they prefer to—

> ".....each dark passage shun
> But hold their farthing-candles to the sun"?

W. L. Rust.

'Macbeth,' II. ii. 1-2.—

> That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold;
> What hath quench'd them hath given me fire.

The text notes in the Revised 'New Variorum' repeat from the earlier edi-

tion the following quotation from Mrs. Griffiths's 'Morality of Shakespeare's Dramas':

"Our sex is obliged to Shakespeare for this passage. He seems to think that a woman could not be rendered completely wicked without some degree of intoxication. It required two vices in her, one to intend, and another to perpetrate, the crime."

On page 473 (Appendix) appears the reference to Lady Macbeth, taken from Campbell's 'Life of Mrs. Siddons': "her own spirit, as it seems, exalted by the power of wine." The text notes add a remark from Bell to the effect that "Mrs. Siddons spoke this line with a ghastly horrid smile." On page 487 of the Appendix, Symons is quoted as saying of Lady Macbeth: "She has taken wine to make her bold, but there is an exaltation in her brain beyond anything that wine could give." Other later comment, however, does not appear to be covered by the revised 'New Variorum.'

As my own conception of the meaning was not reflected in the text notes I searched the books to ascertain whether I had been anticipated in the belief that a different meaning is intended in the passage.

Rolfe's note is as follows: "The C. P. ed. says: 'Lady Macbeth had had recourse to wine in order to support her courage.' Moberly explains it: "I am emboldened by the guard's intoxication"; not, surely, "I have given myself courage with wine." She had taunted Macbeth with a "drunken hope"; and such mode of raising her own spirit seems thoroughly alien from her character.' (after quoting the opinion of Mrs. Griffiths, given above, Rolfe continues) "Moberly's explanation seems rather forced; and the other, we think, goes too far in assuming that the lady was intoxicated. In saying 'That which hath made them drunk,' she implies that she herself was not drunk. Is anything more meant than that she had taken her regular night-cup (see II. i. 31 above), and that she felt the slightly stimulating effect of the 'posset?' The grooms would not have been 'drunk,' or stupified, if their possets had not been drugged."

I cannot see in what respect Moberly's explanation is "forced." We must either take the spiritual meaning of the lines or adhere to the former literal interpretation. Line II. i. 31, referred to by Rolfe,

> Macbeth. Go bid thy mistress, when my drink is ready,
> She strike upon the bell.

indicates a pre-arranged signal to be given when the coast was clear, and although also indicating a custom, does not mean that the usual order was to be observed on the fatal night. Nor would Lady Macbeth be likely to drink with the grooms—"THAT which hath made them drunk," &c.—she partook of the drink privately if she drank at all.

The removal of any danger of interference has made Lady Macbeth bold; the physical effect of the drink in quenching the grooms has its spiritual counterpart in firing her to accomplishment. "THAT which hath made them drunk hath made me bold." In other words, the drugged posset has had an opposite effect upon her and the grooms. It was not the

drugged posset taken by the grooms and the night-cup taken by her, but the identical posset that has had these opposite effects, a result which would be impossible unless we understand it to be the physical effect upon the grooms and the spiritual effect on Lady Macbeth. It seems to me that the poetical thought of the passage has been missed in the literal interpretation. Nothing is gained by endeavoring to reconcile the opposing explanations; Lady Macbeth either drank, or she did not drink, and the thought is infinitely stronger if we understand that her unaided spirits rose when the weight of apprehension of possible interference was removed.

E. M. D.

MARGINALIA

HAD HEMINGES AND CONDELL STUDIED LAW OR READ PLINY'S NATURAL HISTORY? The editors of NEW SHAKESPEAREANA have long since served me with notice that I must not ask questions: "Be always wanting to know, you know," about where Shakespeare got this, and how he came to know that, et cetera: But until I am also served with notice that I must also cease being inquisitive about Shakespeare's Editors, I shall wonder if "The Epistle Dedicatorie," and the address "to the Great Variety of Readers"—prefixed to the First Folio" were really written by the two actors whose names are signed to them and whose personal histories are really pretty well known to us all! In answering my own doubts, the first thing observe is the surprisingly large number of legal terms in these two brief documents. "We have depriu'd ourselves of the defence of our Dedication," "Haue prosequuted.....vvith fauor", "Exequutor", "Orphanes", "Guardians", "beyond our owne powers (i. e. ultra vires,) "Stand for your priuiledges", "A Magistrat.....to arraigne Playes", "Had their triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales", "By death departed from that right". "Prosecuted with favor" certainly involves a very unusual if not unique use of the word, but one of course strictly correct etymologically..

Next we might notice that the Epistle Dedicatorie is absolutely free from those expressions of fulsome flattery common to all other dedicatons addressed to Noblemen at that period; being couched in a tone of respectful but almost facetious familiarity as though the writer were addressing equals and friends, or those but slightly above him in social station—as a Vicount might address an Earl, for instance, if they were friends. That such an address should proceed from two humble players like Heminge and Condell to the Noble Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery is certainly inconceivable! And then the dignity, terseness and vigor of the style and the beauty of the imagery! There is no prentice hand in this. But there is of course no argument about style. If one cannot perceive the beauty of the passage beginning "Country hands reach foorth milke," he may pass by on the other side. etc.

The "Address to the Readers" is of course written in a very different key. It does not aim at the dignity of the Epistle, but it is also terse, nervous and witty, showing clearly the pen of a ready writer. It might

have been by Ben Jonson, the Epistle I think never could have been. But if Heminge and Condell did not write the pieces, who did?

I think myself that the writer or one of the writers was probably a man familiar with the law; that he was a man whose social position permitted him to address two of the most exalted Nobles in the kingdom on terms of friendly equality and that he possessed a very remarkable command of the language;

So we have gathered hints that the writer of the Epistle Dedicatorie was 1. Lawyer, 2. Courtier, 3. Friend of some of the most distinguished nobleman in the realm, 4. Literary man of the very highest attainments. May I suggest under all the pains and penalties in store for me that there was one man living in 1623 answering to all these qualifications. I would suggest a comparison between the style of the Epistle and that of the preface to Bacon's Wisdom of the Ancients: For example, "And this principally raises my esteem of these fables, which I receive, not as the product of the age, or invention of the poets, but as sacred relics, gentle whispers, and the breath of better times, that from the traditions of more ancient nations came, at length, into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks."

The "Address to the Great Variety of Readers" certainly seems as though it might have come from the hand of Ben Jonson; as a comparison with the introductions to various of his works will show—Sejanus for example. The idea, moreover, gains likelihood from the fact that the Verses to the memory of the Author, immediately following the address, are by him.

As Jonson was at the time of the issue of the Folio one of Bacon's secretaries and a member of his household, some sort of co-operation between them is not improbable.

But to return to the Epistle Dedicatorie, a writer in the January number of "Baconiana," signing the initials C. P., has anticipated me in calling attention to a remarkable and very interesting correspondence between the Epistle Dedicatorie and the Preface to Pliny's Natural History—as shown below. The translations from Pliny are from Bostock and Riley's literal translation in the Bohn Library.

Epistle Dedicatorie.	Pliny's Natural History.
Whilst we studie to be thankful in our particular, for the many fauors we haue received from your L. L. we are falne vpon the ill fortune, to mingle two the most diuerse things that can bee, feare, and rashnesse; rashnesse in the enterprise, and feare of the successe.	But my temerity will appear the greater by the consideration, that these volumes, which I dedicate to you, are of such inferior importance.

Epistle Dedicatorie.	Pliny's Natural History.
For, when we valew the places your H. H. sustaine, we cannot but know their dignity greater, then to descend to the reading of these trifles:	I considered your situation much too elevated for you to descend to such an office.
Wherein, as we haue justly obserued, no man to come neere your L. L. but vvith a kind of religious addresse; it hath bin the height of our care, vvho are the Presenters, to make the present worthy of your H. H. by the perfection.	* * *even those who come to pay their respects to you do so with a kind of veneration: on this account I ought to be careful that what is dedicated to you should be worthy of you.
Country hands reach foorth milke, creame, fruites, or what they haue: and many Nations (we haue heard) that had not gummes or & incense, obtained their requests with a leauened cake. It vvas no fault to approch their Gods, by what meanes they could.	But the country people, and indeed, some whole nations offer milk to the Gods, and those who cannot procure frankincense substitute in its place salted cakes, for the Gods are not dissatisfied when they are worshipped by every one to the best of his ability.
And the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious when they are dedicated to Temples.	* * *for things are often conceived to be of great value, solely because they are consecrated in temples.
and vvhile we name them trifles, we haue depriu'd ourselves of the defence of our Dedication.	And by this dedication I have deprived myself of the benefit of challenge
But since your L. L. haue beene pleas'd to thinke these trifles something heeretofore; and haue prosequuted both them, and their authour liuing with so much favour.	For still thou ne'er wouldst quite dispise the trifles that I write
There is a great difference, vvhether any Booke choose his Patrones, or finde them: this hath done both.	For it is a very different thing whether a person has a judge given him by lot, or whether he voluntarily selects one

These seem to me intentional paraphrases. But whether paraphrases or coincidences the phraseology is not that of two journeymen actors.—Isaac Hull Platt.

Where Shakespeare Lived in London. In Pipe Roll 41 Elizabeth, on membrane 'Residuum Sussex'—where the name '(William Shakespeare" is written in cursive contemporary autograph on the margin, are the words "Episcopo Wintonensi," which, being interpretated means that the person named was at that time residing in the clink—that is, in the Bishop of Winchester's liberty—where the sheriff's writ would not run, and so it was necessary to refer the matter to that bishop.

Many years ago, in 1845, Joseph Hunter called attention to the occurrence of the name of William Shakespeare in a Subsidy Roll, dated October, 1598, containing items that relate to the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, as to the first of three subsidies granted to Queen Elizabeth in 1557, and had no hesitation in identifying this Shakespeare with the dramatist—rightly, as what has lately been noted proves, I think. He was rated 13*s.* 4*d.* on goods valued at 5*l.* But prefixed to his name appears "Affid.," which means that, for some reason or other, he objected to any such demand upon him, the most probable reason being that he no longer resided in that neighborhood. It may be mentioned in passing that many other names in the list—some twenty out of seventy-two—show the same "Affid." attached to them. To Hunter's discovery may now be added that even at an earlier date Shakspeare had been assessed as an inhabitant of St. Helen's parish. This earlier assessment amounts to only 5*s.*, though the specified value of the property on which the assessment is made was the same, viz., 5*l.*, and this also was unpaid, presumably for the same reason. It is only 5*s.* because the subsidy due in 1595 was levied in two items, viz., 1*s.* 8*d.* in 1595-6 and 1*s.* in 1596-7. It is "the second payment o fthe last subsydye of the three entire subsydyes latelye graunted unto her Majestye by her Highnes laye subjects by Acte of Parliament holden at Westminster, in ye XXXVth yere of her Majesties raigne" (November 17th, 1592, to November 16th, 1593); and the Commissioners report that the "'petty collectors of the sayde second payment of the sayde last subsidye within the warde of Byshopsgate, London,' have appeared and 'come personallie' before them, and 'upon their corporall othes upon the holye Evangelists of Allmightye God then and there solempnelye taken and made, dyd saye and affirme that the persons hereunder named are all ether dead, departed, and gone out of the sayde warde or their goodes soe eloigned or conveyd out of the same or in suche a pryvate or coverte manner kept, whereby the several sommes of money on them severallye taxed and assessed towards the sayde secound payment of the sayde last subsydye nether mighte nor coulde by anye meanes by them the sayde petty collectors, or ether of them, be levyed of them, or anye of them, to her Majestys use.' And amongst the defaulters in 'St. Ellens parishe' that are named occurs 'William Shackspere V*li*—V*s.*'"

It must, of course, be borne in mind that Shakspeare must have been perpetually absent from his local habitation, house, or inn, or whatever may be its right description—the company of players to which he belonged strolling in various parts of the country; and the collector may, probably enough, have seldom, if ever, found him at home. His was a nomad life, though he may have preferred to have a settlement somewhere, however seldom or however short a time he could stay there. The date of the document is November 15th, 1596. The assessment was made in October, 1596, and the payment was due on or before February, 1597. So some time, certainly, before the beginning of 1597, Shakspeare had, it would seem, ceased to reside in St. Helen's parish. But evidently, as the document quoted by Hunter shows, he was still believed to be resident there—he was not known to have moved—for application was made, pretty certainly early in 1598, at the house of premises he had occupied, for payment of his assessed contribution to the "first whole subsidy of three whole subsidies granted" in the thirty-ninth year of the queen (November 17th, 1596, to November 16th, 1597); but the collectors could get nothing for their pains. William Shakspeare is mentioned amongst "divers persons. . . . .in the ward of Bishopsgate in the parish of St. Helen.....[who] have no goods or chattels, lands or tenements, within the limits of this collection by which the aforesaid collector may be able to distrain for the like subsidy, as it certified to the Court by divers Commissioners of the lady the Queen there upon the oath of the aforesaid collector in the bag of particulars of this account remaining." Certain persons are made responsible ("ought to answer") for the deficit—it totalled 288*l.* 12*s.*, Shakspeare's amount being, as we have seen, 13*s.* 4*d.*—"and they answer in the great roll [of the Pipe] of the 40th year in Residuum London," 1598. In the part of this Residuum accompt that concerns us is found this entry:—"William Shakespeare in the parish of St. Helen's in Bishopsgate Ward owes 13*l*4 of the subsidy; and he answers in the following roll [*i. e.*, for the following year] in Residuum Sussex."

Now, "as Sussex and Surrey had one sheriff between them at this time, the Sussex roll includes the Surrey entries. In Pipe Roll 41 Eliz., on membrane Residuum Sussex as stated, is this entry: 'William Shakspeare in the parish of St. Helen 13*l*4 of the whole subsidy aforesaid granted in the said 39th year. Which is required upon the same roll there,' *i. e.*, referring to the previous entry, which relates to another person also charged in the previous year under London. Against this entry is written in the margin 'O.N.,' the conventional contraction for the phrase 'oneratur nisi,' he is charged unless (he show cause for exemption or the like). But also in the margin, in a cursive contemporary hand, are the words 'Episcopo Wintonensi.'' Also in the margin at the same place is "t" (—tot), a letter set against all such forms, rents, and other debts as the sheriff charged himself with the collection of. Now, as I have said, the Liberty of the Clink, Bankside, belonged to the Bishop of Winchester. Possibly amongst the records of that diocese may be discovered some day some further particulars of this

matter; but I am informed that no such discovery seems probable, as amongst the inventory of the Court Rolls there seems to be none for Southwark of the reign of Elizabeth. But it would seem that the debt was, in 42 Eliz. settled, and the money recovered in some way, since Shakspeare's name does not appear in this roll—at least, in connexion with this particular debt. On the other hand, the Bishop of Winchester accounts for a sum of money 'of the issues of divers persons' which had been referred to him by the Sheriff of Sussex and Surrey. If these issues be picked out of the preceding roll and added together they make this sum, except that there is a 4*d.* either too much or too little. (It is not quite clear in the roll whether an 8*d.* is to be included in the total or not.) Moreover, those entries in the roll of the preceding year which are accounted for by the sheriff (either by himself or his assign) in the year following are marked, as stated by him, with a T (—tot), and against the Shakespeare entry in 41 Eliz. is this T, the significance of which I had not at first grasped." All these things considered together can there be any reasonable doubt that the William Shakspeare mentioned was the great dramatist, and that he lived for a time in or near Bishopsgate, and then for some years on Bankside?

JOHN W. HALES, in the ATHENAEUM."

IN OUR LAST ISSUE WE PRINTED DR. HALLIWELL PHILLIPP'S INTERESTING REMINISCENES OF THE FIRST SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY founded in London in 1840, and which might never have lapsed had it been able to survive the exposures of the Collier and Cunningham forgeries which, along with the immensely valuable matter collected by its zeal it had issued under its own imprimatur and seal. The next Shakespeare Society in point of time was the Philadelphia Shakespeare Society organized in 1851 by four lawyers Messrs. Asa L. Fish; Garrick Mallery Jr., Furman Sheppard and Samuel C. Perkins. This Society first met in the Mercantile Library Building in Philadelphia for the reading and study of the plays and admitted new members slowly and circumspectly and from time to time made collections of desirable matter. In 1861 Dr. Furness its present Dean became a member and in that year the Society established itself in permanent headquarters at No. 206 South Fourth Street in its parent City. Meantime its incorporation had been secured under the laws of Pennsylvania in 1861. The Shakespeare Society of Philadelphia has therefore attained a longer life than any of the important Shakespeare societies of the world, having been in active existence thirty-nine years longer than the first (London) Shakespeare Society; twelve years longer than the German Shakespeare Gesellschaft; forty-one years longer than the New (London) Shakespeare Society, and thirty-three years longer than the Shakespeare Society of New York, whose nineteenth anniversary we recorded in our last issue. Its present officers are: Horace Howard Furness, LL.D. Dean, Richard L. Ashhurst, Esq., Vice Dean, Carroll Smyth, Esq., Secretary and Treasurer. The charter providing that an annual dinner and election of officers should be always held in the

city of Philadelphia on the twenty-third day of April in each year, the Society has for fifty-two years dined together on Shakespeare's Birthday, and its Menus have always been constructed not on the usual plan of equivalenting Shakespearean dishes with apposite snatches from the Plays but on a rather more recondite system. Thus: Modern dinners are served, and whatever Play the Society has been making its study for the last ensuing year is picked over for phrases or centos for descriptions of these Modern Dishes. For example, at its dinner on April Twenty-third, 1904, (the play requisitioned being Macbeth) the puree of Celery was described as "Grewel thick and slab." The Cucumbers "looked the innocent flower" but * * * wait on Nature's mischief! and the eaters exhorted "that present fears are less then horrible imaginings" and so "to screw your courage to the sticking place." The snipe were "this guest of Summer," etc. The cigar period is allotted such quotes as, "Give us a light there;" "They make themselves air into which they vanish" and the smokers find themselves "palled in the dunnest smoke of Hell," while the breakup is, of course, "We will proceed no further with this business!" The Dean, Dr. Furness had several quotations in his honor, one which was "Say from whence thou hast this strange Intelligence" "it should stand in thy Posterity," alluding to Mr. H. H. Furness, Jr., the new Editor of the Variorum,who sat at the feast.

アムレットはこれを見とゞけて、再び室に歸つて行つた。母夫人はアムレットがあまりの亂暴をしたので、吾兒ながらその呆痴にあきれて淺間しく思ひ涙ながらハムレットを近く招いて、

「コリヤ吾兒よ、アムレットよ、何ぼそなたが愚ぢやと云うて、まあ今のしだらは何事ぢや。かりそめにも家臣を殺すのみか、その死躰を寸斷〳〵に刻んで了ふとは、酷いとも何とも云ひ樣がないではないか。日頃から家來どもが、呆痴〳〵と影言するのを聞くたびに、この母の心は如何樣ぢやらう。ちとたしなんだが可いではないか。」

と異見をした。アムハレットはこれを聞いて、容姿を正し夫人にむかつて

「母上、先頃から何時かは申し上げやうと存じてをりましたが、人目がありますので、申し上げる暇が御座りませんでした。母上は眞實私を呆痴と思召していらつしやいますか。」

「エ、、。」

Opposite is the Japanese version of Hamlet, from "O what a rash and bloody deed is this." III, iv.: 27, to "O Hamlet, speak no more," etc. Id. line 89; by Professor Sazanami Yuwaya, a leading Japanese novelist and late incumbent of the chair of Japanese language and literature in the University of Berlin. Shakespeare's plays are frequently presented in Tokio by the Shakespearean actor Otojiro Kawakami and others. The students of the Japanese school of foreign languages often render Shakespeare's plays in English, German and French.—KENGO MORIYA.

We have no record of any activity on the part of the British Empire Shakespeare Society, whose advent with an imposing list of Objects we chronicled in October 1903. It has not given and Series of "Special Performances," nor "Popular Lectures" nor organized any "Children's Classes," etc. etc. But on April twenty-third in London, what is possibly a new form of said Society but now called "The Shakespeare League" announced itself and held a three-days Function in that City. It elected as President Dr. Furnivall, whom age, while it cannot wither, can it seems at least modulate, for although Shakespeare is spelled in the name of the League in the fully vowelled form "SHAKESPEARE," he accepted the Presidency without a shudder, and so far at least, with no serious results! The remainder of the Membership are as yet perhaps all unknown to Fame. T. Fairman Ordish, W. Teigmouth Shore, W. Salt Brassington, R. S. de Courcey Laffan, G. Herbert Thwing, et al, et al. But no matter! For that the corridors of Time will yet resound with these middle-names—who can doubt? For, among other imminent things, the League is going to erect in London a Shakespeare Memorial, to compensate for the Shakespeare memorials on Henley street which the Stratford-on-Avon-people are obliterating. There was considerable discussion at the Function aforesaid as to the form this London Memorial should take. One young lady urging that "a garden in which only flowers mentioned by Shakespeare should be allowed to grow," Would be Just Too Sweet For Anything- Concerning this proposition for a memorial, one of our American contemporaries remarked that, doubtless could Shakespeare ever hear of its abandonment it would be with a pleasure something akin to that of the late A. Ward, who, on the birth of his Twins, assembled himself together and passed the following "Resolved that from the Bottom of my Hart I thank the Baldinsville Brass band for Reconsiderin its Determination to serenade me on the joyful Occasion." But this is malicious!

The copy of the First Quarto of the Second Part of Henrie the Fourth 1600, which brought the record price of £1,035 in London April 23, in the Sotheby auction rooms, was secured by Mesrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York City. This is the highest price yet paid anywhere for a Shakespeare quarto, the previous record being £620, given by the same firm in London in February, 1901, for an uncut copy of "Titus Andronicus," The Second Quarto of 1611.

Books Received

[Subject to second and extended review in subsequent issues.]

109 *The Controversy between the Puritans and The Stage* By Elbert N. S. Thompson Ph D. Paper 8vo pp 275 New York: Henry Bolt & Co

110 *Scriften der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft Band* 1 *Shakespeare's Books. A Dissertation on Shakespeare's Reading and the Immediate Sources of his Works.* By H K D Anders 8vo Paper pp 316 Berlin: George Reimer

111 *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare,* By Robert Kilburn Root Ph. D. 8vo: paper pp 132: New York: Henry Holt & Co

112 *Studies in Shakespeare* by J. Churton Collins, 12mo cloth, pp 380 New York: E P. Dutton & Co.

113 *Shakespeare: Personal Recollections,* By Col. John A. Joyce, Cloth pp 306, New York: The Broadway Publishing Company

114 *The Shakespeare Enigma* By Rev William A Sutton S. J., Cloth, 12mo pp 206, Dublin: Sealy Byrne and Walker

115 *How to Study Shaksepeare.* Series II By Wm H. Fleming 12 mo Cloth pp 400 New York: Doubleday Page and Co.

116 *The Views about Hamlet,* and other Essays by Albert H. Tolman, Cloth, 12mo pp. x-430. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. pp. 403.

117 *The Shakespeare Country Illustrated* With Maps and Appendices illustrating the Washington Country and tht Franklin Country. By John Levland. London: Published at the Office of Country Life and by George Newnes New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons: $1.25

118 *The Bacon-Shakespeare Calendar for the year* 1904: Containing a quotation from Bacon and from the Shakespeare Plays for every Day in the year: Prepared by Mrs Henry Pott and Miss Pott London: The Bacon Society

119 *The Kings Shakespeare...Shakespeare's Sonnets with Notes and Introduction* by C C Stopes Four x three inches sq pp 240 London: Alexander Moring. The De La More Press.

120 *In Shakespeare's England* By Mrs Frederick Boas author of English History for Children cloth 12mo pp 296 London and New York: James Pott and Co

121 *The Works of William Shakespeare Plays and Poems* By William J Rolfe PhD Edited with Notes by William J Rolfe Litt D Foremerly Head Master of the High School Cambridge Massachusetts- Forty Volumes 1e mo Cloth pp about 200 New York The American Book Company

122 *The Oxford Miniature Edition: Shakespeare* Vol I Comedies: Vol III Histories. Sonnets and Poems: Vol III, Tragedies, Cloth A 7/8 x 2 7/8 inches. pp each about 500. London: Henry Frowde Oxford University Press, New York The MacMillan Co.

109 It is our calm and deliberate judgment that this is the most important and valuable work that has been presented to Shakespearean Scholars and students for many a long day! With the most minute and careful research, Dr. Thompson has brought into logical and consecutive chapters, the beginnings, progress and end of that struggle which the English Stage and Drama waged, with alternating fortune, now gently fostered and now provided with Writs of Assistance by the Law; succumbed to at discretion; and, finally overcame in triumph! the fight with the Puritan for actual existence! The history of this war is of paramount value to the study of Shakespeare. For it was in the thick of it that Shakespeare grew up and developed; and became not only the greatest light of the English Drama, but the first organizer of the symetrical English Stage! And he not only saw it all, and felt all its inconveniences, but was the largest even if the quietest factor in the final victory of histrionic art as planted then in English literature, to be thereafter the foremost and noblest part of it forever!

Professor Thompson divides his fine work into two parts: For there were really two wars: one ferocious the other moderate; the first wordy and frantic, invoking Law, Religion, politics and a profanity of epithet and a familiar employment of the name of the Almighty, which, to day (we wonder it did not then) strikes even the casual reader as ten thousand times more blasphemous than anything of which the stage could have been or was accused by the Puritan himself. We have no desire, by epitomising the contents of this noble work of Professor Thompson's to lull our readers from purchase and perusal of the work itself! We trust that no one interested in these matters will neglect it. We assure him he cannot afford to pass it by. Scholarly as the work is, it is not dry or laborious in a single page. But its style is moist and limpid, and withal its author has that godlike attribute—a sense of humour—that holds even an impatient reader strictly to the narrative. We cannot forbear a single example. On page 115 Dr. Thompson says "The Martin Mar-prelate controversy, the anonymous pamphlet campaign which certain of the extreme Puritans began in 1588 against the grevious abuse by bishops of their temporal power, had really nothing to do with the Drama, save in its scurrility, (as Lord Bacon remarked it handled religion in the style of the stage) But, because these extremists hated the bishops and because they hated the stage, they joined the two as brothers in sin: x x x x An instance of this is found in "Hay

Any Worke For Cooper," (1657) Martin there tells the story of a clergyman who went up into his pulpit 'fully resolved to do his business with great commendations.' Unfortunately Robin Hood with his May-game and Morris-dance went by, and 'Good Gilberte' the clergyman, when he saw a small boy sneak out of the door was so overcome with fond recollections of the past, when, 'for want of a better,' he had once played the Vice in a play; exclaimed 'Ha ye faith boie, are they there.' Then ha' wi' thee,' and he himself rushed from the church."

We have read the work with intense interest and profit from beginning to end. The material is of course, accessible in the fifty or sixty works original and recent which Dr. Thompson has so painstakingly consulted. But it has never been so compactly and delightfully isolated for the special student or for the casual reader as here.

110 And next to Dr Thompson's work in importance, comes this of Herr Anders. Higher Critics (as the Baconians now style themselves) as well as the humble orthodox Shakespearean will rejoice at the fulness of this compilation which proceeds by specifications to trace Shakespeare not only to the vicinity of works extant, or possibly extant, in his day, but to each individual extract used, or possibly used, as the source of a Shakespearean phrase, speech or paragraph. The perennial wonder of Shakespeare's vast erudition would still be vast even if his Plays were commonplace. Heretofore the Baconians—we beg pardon "the Higher critics"—have had the burden of sacking pre-Shakespearean literature for these incunabula. Now Herr Anders has outdistanced them all! We hasten to say that he is not one of the literal school of his countrymen which lately has discovered that "curtesied when you have and kisst The wild waves whist" means that the wild waves whistle so that the listener bobs his head and kisses the sand-metaphor for tumb ligndown in fear scared by the aforesaid whist. or who remains buried in pre-Shakespearean cloudland trying to elucidate the crux "Sit by my side lady wife, and let the world slip, we shall ne'er be younger." And having gone through all the Fathers from Origen and Eusebius to The Venerable Bede without hitting upon any such figure as "Letting the world slip" through space—(a phenomena which he fears would be attended with disastrous consequences to the human race) thinks that the nearest to it is the Dos pou sto of Archimides, which perhaps Shakespeare may have had in mind; but being no College graduate, got it wrong, as usual! For otherwise is Mr. Anders plan. For example: Let Rabelais be added to the enormous list of writers and books that Shakespeare had at his elbow when he sat down to write plays for the Globe theatre audiences (What exacting people those audiences were! no twentieth century audiences require such massive reading in their playwrights!) "You must borrow me Gargantua's mouth first! 'tis a word too great for any mouth of this age's size" says Celia (As You Like It. III. ii. 238.) when Rosalind requests that all her questions be answered in one word. The expression "the beast with two backs" etc. (Othello I. i. 118) is from Ra-

belias, Book 1 Chapter 3. Et faisoient eux deux souvent ensemble la beste a deux dos. Here Anders however, strangely enough, omits to mention what is the largest use made of Rabelais, viz., where in The Comedy of Errors III ii 114 Dromio of Syracuse tells how he "finds countries" is his mistress! This all is a close imitation of Rabelais (III-4 "where Friar John "paints a map of the world on Panurge's head and face. "Ta barbe par les "distinctions du gris, du tanne et du noir, me semble une mappe-monde. "Regarde ici! Voila Asie, ici sont Tigris et Euphrates! Voila Afrique! "Ici est la montaigne de la Lune! Veois-tu Tueleme? Veois tu les parlus "du Nil? Deca est Europae. Veois tu Tueleme: ce touppet ici tout blanc "sont les mentes Hyperborees."

Invaluable as the work is, we cannot repress a smile at certain of the good Herr's foibles! For instance he is very severe on those who state their individual guesses as Facts: says e. g., that Fleay's books would be more valuable if his facts and his guesswork were isolated in different chapters. But he does not hesitate to guess ad libitum himself: as where he twice says page 11,211, that Shakespeare may have been a choir-boy (chorister) in Stratford church. Again, he complains that some authors are far too ex cathedra! And yet he himself disposes of one book (Reed's Bacon vs Shakespeare) as follows: "I have carefully investigated the matter and find his arguments baseless." (page 286) But Herr Anders is nothing if not anti-Baconian! Although directly tracing Shakespeare into quotation from some two thousand authors, he is as crisp with my Lord Bacon as was Horrebow with Snakes in Iceland! Here is Herr Ander's chapter on Bacon's influence over Shakespeare complete! (page 108.) "Francis Bacon. I have not been able to discover any traces of Bacon in Shakespeare's works," Which certainly cant be complained of for lack of strenuosity! The book should be a close library neighbor of Bartlett's Concordance nevertheless.

111 This also is a valuable work of reference for students. Dr. Root has arranged an alphabetical list of Classical characters mentioned in the Plays and Poems, giving, under the name of each, the passage followed in the classic work or model. He then rearranges this same material under another tabulation, according to the title of the Shakespeare Play or Poem. The student therefore, either under the name of a classical character or under the name of the play of poem is guided to what he wants. In a very clearly reasoned Preface Dr Root claims that whether at first or second hand, Shakespeare's earliest classical model was Ovid, but that, as his own art increased, he recognized the insincerity of the model he had so long followed. and, thereafter, used him only as a material for jest. Whether prepared to accept this proposition or not, the thesis is, as we have said, very cleverly worked out

112 Mr John Churton Collins does not share the opinion of Dr. Farmer that Shakespeare's classical attainments were limited to the amount of Latin necessary for the conversation between Parson Evans and Mrs. Quickly!

Mr Collins awards him at the very least a very thorough and a very loving acquaintance with Latin, and with the Greek dramatists through the Latin. He dilates on Shakespeare's studied use of paronomasia, of asyndeton, of onomatopoeia, of elaborate antithesis, of compound epithets, of subtle periphrasis; and, above all, his metaphors,—with those so peculiarly characteristic of the Attic dramas. It is indeed in the extraordinary analogies,—analogies in sources, in particularity of detail and point, and in relative frequency of employment, presented by his metaphors to the metaphors of the Attic tragedians, that we find the most convincing testimony of his familiarity with their writings. "Again the perfect correspondence between the attitude of Shakespeare and that of the Greek dramatists, towards the great problems of death and man's future beyond it. Shakespeare had inherited Christian traditions, and the Christian religion he treats uniformly with profoundest respect and reverence. The poet who stood next to himself among his contemporaries was, as the philosophy of the Faerie Queene shows, essentially Christian; the metaphysic of contemporary dramatists, where it expresses itself, is emphatically Christian; the greatest philosopher among his contemporaries was a Christian. And yet, Shakespeare's treatment of death and what follows death is precisely that of Sophocles and Euripides. On a life beyond the grave it is absolutely silent, as piously silent on the side of negation, as it is honestly silent on the side of affirmation. Sophocles leaves the fate of Oedipus shrouded in mystery; Shakespeare makes Hamlet quit the world with "the rest is silence," as the least expression of earthly sentience." and witness the Dirge in Cymbeline.

And yet Mr. Collins would venture to say, "that if a thoughtful man, after going attentively through the thirty-seven plays, were asked what the prevailing impression made on him was, he would reply: the awful reverence which Shakespeare shows for Religion—for the mysterious relation which exists between Man and God. The sense of the utter contemptableness and unintelligibleness of man and life without reference to the Divine is not stronger or more pervading in Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles. It seems clear that, unlike Sophocles, Shakespeare did not accept the popular religion on its metaphysical side, that is, he did not accept its solution of what is insoluble by reason and experience, but he accepted it on the ethical side, and he revered it accordingly."

A very interesting chapter is that on Shakespeare as a prose writer. "The fame of Shakespeare as a poet has overshadowed that due him as a prose writer but the truth is that Shakespeare's prose is a phenomenon as remarkable as his verse. As to the authority of Titus Andronicus Mr. Collins says, if Shakespeare was not the author of it there is an end to circumstantial testimony in literary questions; for the evidence external and internal is as conclusive as such evidence can possibly be, Titus Andronicus is perhaps richer in classical allusions than any other play."

Mr Collins thinks that Shakespeare's law (he has not seen Judge Phelps's or Senator Davis's nor Mr. Devecmon's books, though the latter is in the

British Museum) may have been acquired from three books easily accessible to him, namely Tottell's Precedents (1572), Pulton's Statutes (1578), and Fraunce's Lawier's Logike (1588', works with which he certainly seems to have been familiar; but much of it could only have come from one who had an intimate acquaintance with legal proceedings." Mr. Collins' chapter on the Bacon Authorship, is much the usual demonstration of the extreme improbability thereof, which everybody concedes. With the ultimate question as to whether, despite its improbability, it is not true "too strange not to be true," Mr. Collins does not concern himself. The typography of the book is excellent, but it is to be regretted that the proofreading was not more carefully done. Jaques is invariably spelled Jacques, and, in one or two places—note the discussion of the word, "land-damn," (page 306) whole clauses seem to have been dropped out, rendering the text unintelligible. Altogether the book is notable and invaluable to the close student as a reference to what material can be found related of in Shakespeare. But we are sure that if Mr. Collins would go as minutely through the Mahabharata as he has gone through the Attic dramatists in search of parallel passages he might have added Sanskrit to the list of Shakespeare's acquirements. I. H. P.

113 Colonel Joyce has thought out a new kind of book to write about Shakespeare, which is in itself no small achievement! He imagines himself (Col. Joyce) the childish playmate of the Stratford lad, the companion of his youth, the inseparable friend and alter ego of him all through his life and stage career! Upon this line he writes a co-biography, and we may be sure that the two do not suffer any hint of disparagement, or lack of admirable qualities! They are both simply perfect; no poor human nature, no foibles no wild oats, no errors. Shakespeare plays before Elizabeth and Leicester at Kenilworth, knocks out the champion pugilist at Oxford, throws dice in London, and becomes assistant prompter to Burbage at the Blackfriars. Col. Joyce and Shakespeare sup with Raleigh and Spencer and make the "grand tour" on the Continent. We have lots of copy from "Romeo and Juliet," "Macbeth," "Hamlet," and many other verses not charged to Shakespeare's account by the learned. The Colonel borrows this new matter from others, or writes it himself, as the notion strikes him. The autograph letter written to Shakespeare by his Majesty James I is here at last, in fac similie, and His Majesty's handwriting strongly resembles Col Joyce's own. But that is a small matter! We are glad that Dr Hall did not throw that letter into the fire with his well known reckless indifference to gold (for a King's autograph would have brought gold galore in those days as in these) we congratulate Col. Joyce on a happy thought and on the cleverest book he has ever written.

114 If we have taken a solemn oath never again to review a purely Baconian book, Father Sutton must absolve us for forswearing ourselves! For his quiet, gentle, and placid pages are a temptation to the doughtiest book-reviewer at whose perjuries they say Jove laughs! If the Bacon propa-

gandists had secured such advocates as the Rev. Dr. Sutton at the outset; it is probable that the theory would by this have been an accepted alternative; or at least a working hypothesis to bring out the facts! We admit that we ought to be ashamed to confess that, though we have as a matter of business read every Baconian or quasi-Baconian book that has appeared within the last thirty-five years, we have read Father Sutton's book word by word and from cover to cover, with a sense of finding it all new and delightful. Here is the single extract which our space allows us: "Whoever wrote these works was possessed of immense stores of knowledge in some departments of which he was totus teres atque rotundus, without a flaw! while, in other branches, great as his erudition was, it presents remarkable defects, whether from defctive early training, or because it was acquired from books without personal observation and actual experiment, or from depending too much on original thought and ignoring the discoveries of the day. But, for all that, his erudition is portentious—well nigh superhuman in its profundity and compass." What has especially interested us in Father Sutton's book are the pages devoted to Sir Tobie Matthew. It it remarkable that Sir Tobie, who was Lord Bacon's closest friend; and for whom (after his banishment from the English Court on account of his becoming a Roman Catholic) Bacon more than once succeeded in making peace with the throne; it is remarkable, w say, that Sir Tobie—living in tranquil leisure in the Jesuit cloisters of the Tertians at Ghent for twenty-nine years after Lord Bacon's death should have said nothing and written nothing, and left no word or note of such potentious secrets as that Lord Bacon was the legitimate eldest son of Queen Elizabeth, kept from the throne for reasons of suppositious expediency; and was besides, the real Shakespeare! Either one of such secrets as those would have kept a man awake all his nights and itching for pen and paper to write them down with, all his days! For a Brief of the Controversy we cannot think of a cleverer one than Father Sutton's. An exhaustive work of reference upon every phase of the subject it of course does not pretend to be.

115 When Poll Sweedlepipe first saw the remarkable Mr Bailey, he felt that but two courses were open to him: either to take Mr Bailey for granted, or to go distracted himself! Precisely such is the sensation with which we find yet one more of W. H. Fleming's contributions to the Gaeity of Nations upon this reviewing table! Perhaps then we might allow Professor Carpenter to do the reviewing this time. To a late issue of an esteemed contemporary, Prof. Carpenter contributed the following: I find in this library two considerable books with the ex cathedra and uncompromising title "How to Study Shakespeare," by a Mr. (I suppose) W. H. Fleming. Here are some extracts: Why is Miranda inattentive? Ans.—To give Prospero an opportunity to call her attention, and in so doing the attention of the spectators of the drama, to his narrative. (Vol. I., Page 401.) Gild Gilt.—This pun intensifies the horror, and was intended by Shakespeare to do so. (Vol. I., Page 218.) What is the purpose of Iago's aside? Ans.—

To reveal his thoughts and plans. (Vol. I., Page 35.) Why does Viola tell us she knew Orsino was a bachelor? Ans.—To reveal one cause of her interest in him and to foreshadow her love for him. (Vol. I., Page 84.) There is no mother in this play. Why? Ans.—The action is sufficiently complicated and tragic without any. (Vol. II., Page 207.) There is an absence of pathos in this play. Why? Ans.—Because there is an absence of anything tragic. (Vol. I., Page 300.) What is the dramatic purpose of the lovers' quarrel about the rings? Ans.—To intensify the comic with which the play ends. (Vol. I., Page 98.) What can we infer of Shylock's feelings to Jessica from the coarse and vulgar way in which he yells to her? (Vol. I., Page 184.) What is the dramatic purpose which Shakespeare attains by the conversation between Lady Macduff and her son? Ans.—To awaken pathos. (Vol. I., Page 251.) "With all my heart" Shakespeare by means of this joke evokes pathos. (Vol. I., Page 173.) Salarino's reference to "sad and merry" is to foreshadow the union of the comic and tragic in this play. (Vol. I., Page 156.) What dramatic purpose does Shakespeare attain by making Lysander and Hermia, and also the Athenian mechanicals, leave the city? Ans.—It enables him to remove the scene of action from the city to the woods. (Vol I., Page 284.) Why the change from prose to verse? Ans.—There were no drop curtains in Elizabethan theatres. Rhymed couplets were introduced to inform the audience of the end of a scene. (Vol. I., Page 35.)

Of course they were! How else were an Elizabethan audience to know when to go home, poor things? Only, in playing "Love's Labour's Lost" and "The Comedy of Errors," Mr. Fleming should have mentioned that the spectators were chained to the orchestra seats, as those plays are mostly "rhymed couplets," and it would have disconcerted the actors for the audience to be rushing out and in when "informed of the end of a scene" in every alternate line.

We have often remarked that when the Creator of the Universe denies a man the sense of humour He usually compensates him by making him pachydermatous instead. And yet it will hardly be credited that upon the appearance of this communication Mr Fleming sat himself down and wrote to our esteemed Contemporary aforesaid that there were no orchestra chairs in the Shakespeare Theatres to which the spectator could have been chained, adding, with the dignity of a tom-tit and the finality of an owl—"Further comment upon Mr. Carpenter's Shakespeare lore is unnecessary." If it were "necessary" to take Fleming himself seriously, it would only be "necessary" to remark that his error in mistaking the desire to impart instruction about Shakespeare for the ability to impart it—is pathetic!

116 This book is not likely to provoke controversy. If the author has any views of his own he is too careful of them to allow them to escape into this cold world. In the Hamlet essays he discusses "The command to revenge," "Taint not thy mind," "Nor contrive against thy mother aught," "The traces in Hamlet of an older play" and "Hamlet as the mouthpiece of

Shakespeare." We learn what other men from Rowe to Boas thought on these subjects, but the only subject on which Mr. Tolman expresses an opinion is about Hamlet's proposition to "drink up Eisel." He thinks it was vinegar and not the river that Hamlet oxered to imbibe, and he believes the passage involves an allusion to the gall and vinegar of the crucifixion. It is only fair to say that the author makes this idea seem a little less ridiculous than it does at first sight.

The chapter on the knocking at the gate in Macbeth is a paraphrase of De Quincey's famous essay. The raison d' etre of the paraphrase is not clear.

Probably the most valuable chapter in the book is that on "Shakespeare's stage and Modern Adaptations," which is a good digest of what had already been written on the subject. The book is written in an easy style, is well printed and calls for no strain on the intellect. It is well suited for a warm, drowsy summer afternoon in a hammock. It costs one dollar and fifty cents. (I. H. P.)

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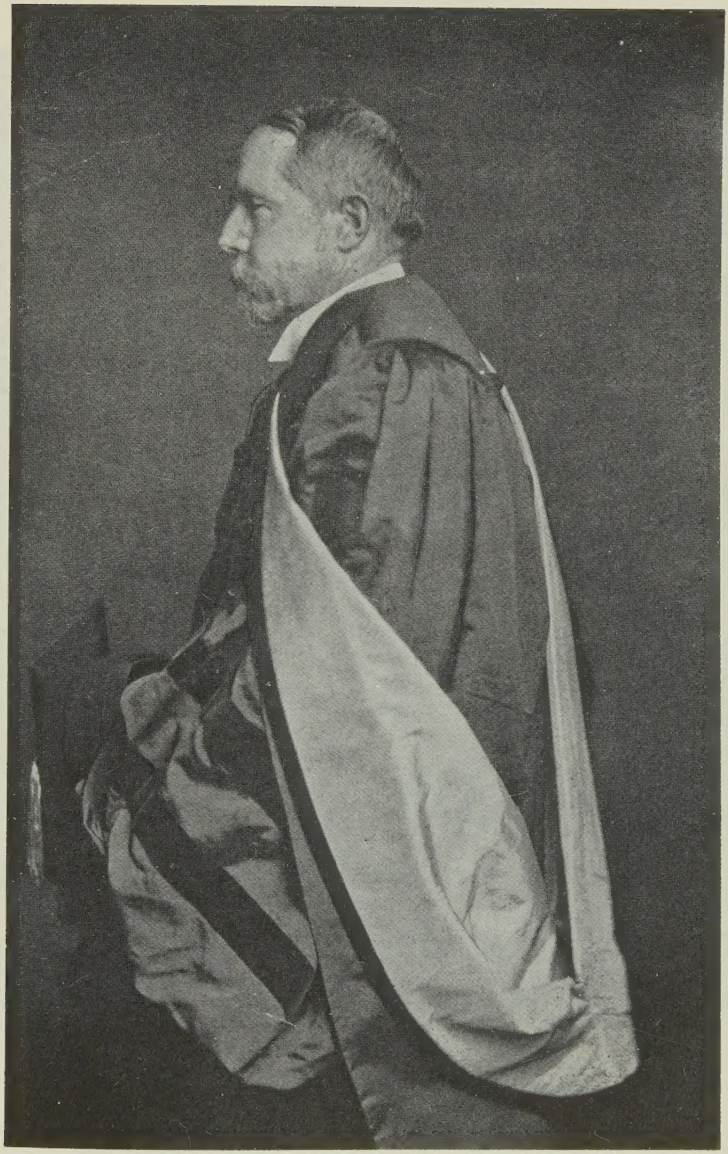

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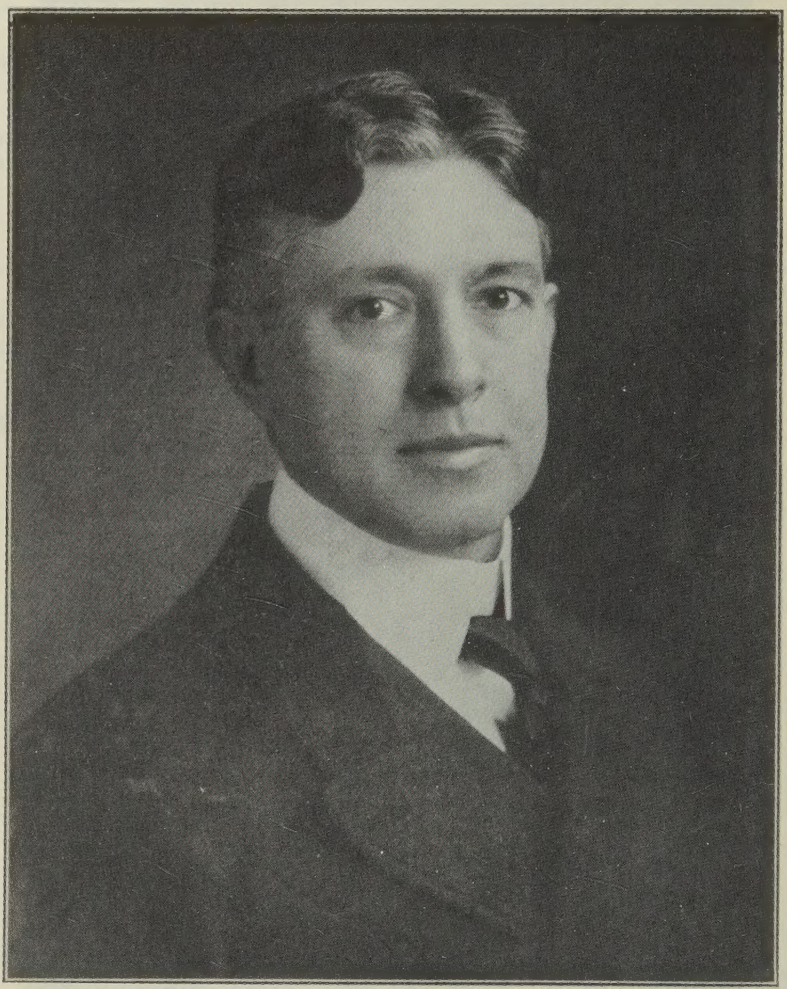

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